

# The Republican.

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## GENERAL ELECTION.

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THIS is the subject for general conversation, and the result is shewing that the mass of the people of this country are but little improved. There is much of individual improvement and much of general improvement in particular towns, such as the departments of London, and some large towns in which the writings of Thomas Paine have freely circulated, but in such places as Coventry, Chester, and Preston, the election has evinced the state of mind to be very low. Before the writings of Thomas Paine appeared, there had not been a body of sound political knowledge communicated to the people. Some smart pamphlets had appeared, and Junius improved on all that had appeared before him; but it was reserved for Thomas Paine to make the body of the people the basis of all political rights, and to find no political rights among a priesthood, an aristocracy, or a Royal Family, as distinct from the body of the people. Paine made a grand step in political discussion, which has been just completed in making that discussion open and free. As all invention is but an improvement on something that was invented before, improvements have been made upon some of the branches of Paine's system, and now that discussion has no impediment but in local or individual influence, we may expect some rapid improvements in the science of legislation. Indeed, it has begun, and that beginning has been forced upon the Ministers; but bold and honest reforms can only be brought about by bold and honest men, such men as Paine, getting into the Legislature or Ministry, and the day for that acquisition to the country has not yet arrived.

Such men, as Mr. Hunt and Mr. Cobbett, can now present themselves to the electors with some promises of success; and in the course of another seven or fourteen years, the avowed supporters of the principles of Thomas Paine will be able to present themselves successfully. Until that can be done, I have no ambition to become a Member of Parliament, nor even until the electors become bold and independent enough to call forth such men. Never will I participate in such a scene as that which Mr. Cobbett is going through at Preston. I like an assembly of rational

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people; but I hate a servile mob, such as is formed at moments of election, such as these in this country at this time. Nothing of the kind is seen in America, where the voting is performed by ballot. Nothing of the kind should be seen. Coventry deserves to lose its elective franchise during a generation, for its late exhibition of the worst part of savage human nature. There the apparel has been torn from the backs of the voters, as they were proceeding to the poll. At Leicester, a man has been killed. Men, in cases of opposition, seem to go to the poll like madmen, instead of going quietly and steadily, appearing to know what they are about, like rational beings.

Even in this state of things, there is ground for satisfaction, in seeing such a man as Holme Sumner thrown out so gallantly from the county of Surrey, and my neighbour Butterworth treated with such contempt at Dover. These are exceptions to the general rule, and indicate a progressing change in the minds of those who read and think. The men who neither read nor think are mere cattle, and ought not to be allowed to interfere in an election. A customer lately suggested, that the criterion of qualification to vote should be a thorough reading and knowledge of Paine's "Rights of Man." This would reduce the thing to good order.

Elections in England can yet be scarcely said to be conflicts of opinion. They retain nearly all of their old property of party or clanship. Nine-tenths of the voters look at the family and connections of the candidate rather than at his qualifications for legislation. This will continue to be the case until more knowledge gets abroad, and men begin to examine and to act upon the principles of politics.

Another evil is, that voters at present are to be bought by the strength of the purse of the candidate—and we hear of a hundred thousand pounds spent to obtain an election. This is a reversal of the right order of things. Candidates should rather be purchased by the voters, than the voters by the candidates.

Mr. Hunt, I perceive, has not the least chance for the county of Somerset. He polled on the first day not one-fifth part of those polled by the old Members. Still, in such a county, he cannot fail to do good by a protracted opposition. It excites both thought and spirit, where thought and spirit are much wanted.

R. C.

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#### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

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I SHOULD like an interview with the *highly seasoned Corinna*, to teach her, that she ought not yet to consider herself too old to



learn, while she has so much to learn. She may be told another thing—that there is no trick in the management of “The Republican,” no forgery of letters, no empty compliments asked or desired, and that the Editor has just as much contempt for the word *Esquire* as he has for that of *Reverend*. He has so high an opinion of himself as to think *that word* no improvement to his name, style, or title. He would prefer Richard Carlile, Atheist, or a man of no religion, no trick, no cant, no tyranny, to that of any other title that can at this time be bestowed upon him. Every letter is printed by him in the style in which he receives it, if it be grammatically correct; in proof of which the following may be taken as a specimen,

R. C.

TO RICHARD CARLILE, ESQ.

(For the Republican.)

MY DEAR SIR,

ON Thursday sen'night the following question was proposed for discussion at a celebrated Debating Society in the metropolis:—

“Which of the following individuals, in his public character, has displayed the greatest egotism and vanity—the Reverend Robert Taylor, Mr. Henry Hunt, or William Cobbett?”

The question was argued on that and the following Thursday evening. Against Mr. Hunt no person declaimed; and only one against the Reverend Secretary of the Christian Evidence Society; on the second evening this person did not appear in the room; and after Cobbett's character, his innumerable shufflings, vacillations, and weathercock principles, had been fully entered into, and your memoir of his life had been referred to, and copious extracts read, the meeting, *nemine dissente*, decided, that the obloquy of egotism fell upon Cobbett. This shews the estimation in which this man is held; and yet this very man had the impudence, and consummate effrontery, to attack you for publishing the “Every Woman's Book,” a book which, in my opinion, during the short time it has been published, has done more good than the whole of his writings for the last twenty years. I fully agree with you, that his defeat at Preston, coupled with your memoir of his character, will be his complete downfall.

I am, my dear Sir,

Your constant reader and well-wisher,

AMICUS VERITATIS.

Bedford Square, June 19, 1826.

THE NEWGATE MAGAZINE.

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THIS work being about to be closed with the second volume, subscribers, who may wish to do so, are advised to complete their sets with all possible speed; as, soon after its completion, as many perfect sets as possible will be boarded, and but few Numbers remain for sale. The Number for August will be the last. There are some admirable essays in it, and these too written by young men who have been wholly self-taught, and many of whose acquirements are the result of their confinement. There is and has long been a rumour about removing Messrs. Perry, Clarke, and Campion, from Newgate to the Giltspur Street Compter, to fill out the last year's imprisonment; how much better would it look to see them removed outside of Newgate, and told to go about their business? The conflict is clearly over, and bare humanity calls for a liberation of the prisoners. Their confinement looks like a mere condescension on the part of the Ministers to the spleen of the Recorder, who pronounced such vile and unequal sentences. There is much of retributive justice yet to be obtained on this score of religious or political persecution; but the continuation of that persecution on the least offensive part of the opponents, is neither honourable, wise, or excuseable. Still the Newgate Magazine will long stand as a retaliating point, and its authors will not fail to improve by their experience in their future assaults upon the vices of religion.

R. C.

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CHANGE OF PLACE OF BUSINESS.

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I SHALL be compelled to hold on the present small shop, 135, Fleet Street, for some time, in consequence of having no landlord to whom I can give up the key, and in consequence of having tendered no regular notice of leaving, about which there could be no certainty, while the landlord was alive. He has lately died, without making a will; his children are minors, and nothing can be done, no rent paid, no notice to quit given or taken, until the Lord Chancellor appoints a trustee to act. This will be rather a convenience than an inconvenience; for having some thousands of soiled pamphlets, and pamphlets printed on bad paper, I want an opportunity to dispose of them in a shop distinct from the regular place of business. In the course of a week or two, they will be tied up in lots, and the price, a low price, attached to



each lot. Persons wishing to complete their sets of "The Republican," are advised to do it immediately, as the same chance of doing it will not exist in the new house.

Some little derangements of business will occur during the removal, particularly in the printing department; and should a Number of "The Republican" not appear at the right time, it will be ready soon after:

R. C.

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### JOINT STOCK BOOK COMPANY.

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EVERY matter relating to this Company will be fully and satisfactorily explained in about a fortnight's time, and subscribers or others invited to inspect the books and stock. As yet, there has been no expence incurred but for the creation of stock, and none will be incurred for some months to come but what is inevitable for warehouse room. One room of the new house will be set aside for the stock and business of the Company.

R. C.

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### CHRISTIAN EVIDENCE SOCIETY.

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THE meetings of this Society are likely to assume something like frequency and regularity soon after Midsummer Day. As yet, no obstacle is seen to the purchase of the lease of the chapel in Cannon Street, and all who intend to subscribe for that purchase should immediately come forward to do it. It will be a great point gained on the part of the advocates for free and fair discussion to have such a place of assembly, and as yet the extent of good that may be done in it cannot be calculated. To be sure of making it useful, the subscribers have nothing to do but to secure an efficient committee for its management, and to see that the committee so chosen duly attends to its duty.

R. C.

## TO THE EDITOR OF "THE REPUBLICAN."

SIR,

IN "The Republican" of June 9, 1826, you state that I am reported to have said at a late Public Meeting of the Unitarians, held at Bolton, in Lancashire, that I would defend Christianity if I were convinced that it were erroneously founded; I beg you to do me the justice to contradict the report. I unhesitatingly affirm, that I used no such language.

I see no part in your last letter to me which merits any notice but that which relates to the existence of the supreme mind. In answer to your question, "Can you, Mr. Beard, maintain the theory of a God?" I answer, I will endeavour to maintain the *existence* of him. I am not afraid to meet you on this point. Why should I? If I have truth on my side, I am sure of doing good to myself and others by discussing the question; if I am in error, I may be liberated from it, and though I lose a tenet, I shall gain truth. I am willing therefore to discuss this question with you: but not immediately. A variety of causes will preclude the possibility of my giving attention to the discussion of the subject at the present moment. But I hold myself pledged, if you accept the challenge, to debate the matter with you. It is not likely that I shall be able to appear in the field before Christmas next; but at or shortly after, I promise to state my reasons for my belief in the existence of the supreme mind, and to invite and meet your objections.

J. R. BEARD.

Salford, Manchester, June, 1826.

*Note.*—I accept Mr. Beard's challenge as to the discussion of the question of God or no God. This is the only real theological question: all below this is nonsense. I am much pleased with Mr. Beard for taking up this question, and can patiently wait a year for him on so important a matter.

With reference to the contradicted report, I can only say, that the inference to be drawn was, that Mr. Beard, thinking, that Unitarian Christianity had a good moral influence on mankind, the correctness of its origin or foundation was but a secondary question.

R. C.



## MR. COBBETT'S FLIGHT FROM PRESTON!

THE old *runaway* has again run from his post, the usual accomplishment of all his braggings and boastings! He would run from the House of Commons before a Session had expired, and say that it was useless to sit there with such a company. Mr. Cobbett has not the moral power to produce any kind of reform by his example, his patience, or his perseverance.

On Monday last, he announced that he wanted the benefit of a sea air! He wanted the benefit of a sea air in 1817, when he fled from his debts! On Tuesday he did not appear at the hustings, but his son William appeared, who has been often called in to assist in, or to finish, the dirty jobs of the father; but "my son William" made a sorry appearance.

All foppery, or what is now called dandyism, is despicable in the eyes of well-informed men; there is a sort of mild, good manners which constitute the real gentleman or what is termed the nobleman, and which are seen among some few of all classes or conditions of people; but this is a possession which Mr. Cobbett has not, and wherever he appears before the public, he appears either in the language of disgusting praise of himself, or in that of as disgusting abuse of those persons whom he distinguishes as his opponents. It matters not that their manners or their moral characters be good, he heeds not this; but he treats every political opponent as if he were a villain of the most abandoned cast. His language to the opposing candidates at Preston has been abominable. The same thing is going on in Somersetshire, and I shall be much surprised to see Mr. Hunt or Mr. Cobbett receive again the least respectable countenance from any body of electors. I am glad that these men denounce what I call Republicanism. As to political government, I am a thorough Republican; but I sincerely admire the aristocracy of good manners and good morals, of virtue and of knowledge. I hate the equality of the brutal ruffian or the blackguard bully, and will maintain no other equality than that of mutual honesty, mutual civility, and mutual benevolence.

A friend has sent me the ten Numbers of "The Political Mountebank," published at Preston during the election. These have been "the bars, the fortifications, the fosse, the embrasure, the partialities," which have checked the numbers of his voters. He complains of undue influence exercised toward him, but Mr. Cobbett has ever been his own most violent and most vile opponent.

"What will he do now?" is a common question among those who notice his doings. My view of him is, that he must turn his hand to some other trade than that of politician, for he has never been any thing but a *trading politician*, never has he supported any system of politics from the love of, or adherence to, what he considered good principles; but always those which he considered would profit him most for the moment.

R. C.

#### TO THE EDITOR OF THE REPUBLICAN.

SIR,

THERE are more arguments adduced, there is more already written by the advocates of the rational system on the necessity of our exercising the mind upon the various creeds and systems of religion, than has either been, or can be answered by the promulgators of those dogmas. Such being the fact, it seems almost unnecessary for the continuation of the conflict. But as our enemies keep possession of the good things of this life under a pretext of directing their followers to the blessings of one that is to come; and as the necessary requisites to the accomplishment of that future desirable situation, is a full reliance upon their priest, or an unshaken *faith* in whatever they please to pall upon the understanding; I shall make a few remarks upon that most essential ingredient towards the making a person a good Mahottan, or a good Christian.

To make a man good upon a rational plan it is necessary that he act like a rational being. That he fulfil his situation in life with the strictest order and decorum, in short that he be honest in all his dealings. His communications with his fellow-man will, under those circumstances, be without any other design than his



language implies; this he will "speak without any intention to betray, and hear without any intention to deceive." He will give credence to subjects of a demonstrable nature such as come under the denomination of a rational solution. He will exercise his judgment, he will deliberate and weigh with care before he receives as facts the various things that are offered to his consideration, that are presented to his understanding. He will pin his faith upon no man's sleeve any farther than his faculties, or his judgment will admit. If his abilities will not comprehend a thing offered to his serious consideration, he must be a hypocrite, if he says he believes it. Those things are not articles of our faith that are either above or contrary to reason. There are degrees in the capaciousness of the mind, as there are in that of the body. There is an expansion of intellect in some that surpasses that of others, as far as the adult surpasses the infant in stature. Thus the mind of the republican Paine soared beyond the monarchical Ferdinand of Spain, as far as the brilliant splendour of the sun eclipses a rushlight.

But the standard of truth is the force of intellect exercised in a rational way. If judgment and reason be not employed when a subject is presented to us, the writings of Mahomet or Baron Swedenbourg, the reveries of a Brothers, and of numbers of such a class, could not be distinguished from the works of a Volney, a Locke, or a Bacon. How can we distinguish the Alcoran from the Pentateuch; but by our reason? How do we distinguish a treatise upon music, from one upon astronomy, but by the same faculty? The mildness of the dove and the lamb is distinguished from the rapaciousness of the vulture and the tiger in a similar manner, by using the powers of intellect. And in proportion to the strength of reason is the distinction visible between the idiot and the philosopher.

The scientific writings are the effect of genius employed in delineating abstruse subjects. There are none but men of good abilities who can unravel the operations of nature. Who but a philosopher could think of charging a Leyden phial by the lightning from the clouds, and prove that it is electricity that produces those dreadful storms and devastations that astounded the ancients, and made them fall down and implore forgiveness of an angry God! Two thousand years ago, if the people had witnessed the ascension of a man in a car suspended to a balloon of inflated silk, before the distinction and knowledge of the various gases of which the atmosphere is composed, they would have reported the thing as a supernatural phenomenon, and the aeronaut would have been transformed into a God and fixed in the constellation of the heavens as an object of veneration and worship.

But the object of the priest being diametrically opposite to that of the philosopher, their dealings with men is of a different

cast. They reproach that in man which is revered by the philosopher, and hold in contempt the pilot reason that guides us with safety into the desired haven. In their cant phrase, they call that excellent faculty in man *carnal*, and denounce with curses the employer thereof!! Grace and faith are the two principal ingredients in the composition of the Mahometans and Christians. Grace is an overflowing or effusion of their reveries: and faith is an unexamined or implicit belief in the strange irrational tales that are related to them. "He that believeth shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned!!" Such is the language of the teachers of Christianity. Such is enforced with words of the most cruel and implacable import! But why that urgent injunction for belief, and diabolical denunciation for unbelief? If the subject be within the bounds of credibility and no way in hostility to reason, every rational man will give a due consideration, and treat it according to the force of evidence. But what are those things, or what is the subject that man is to be threatened into a belief of, under such an enormous and never ending penalty? A belief that certain writings are the word of God. Oh, most anomalous and astonishing! That man should be trifled with so by his fellow man, and prohibited from exercising his faculties upon such an important affair. Your implicit belief is all that is required of you by your holy and reverential teachers. Such a belief that is at war with reason, with every affair that is taught us as redounding to our comfort with our brethren and the world at large. You are then told that the founder of Christianity came not to bring peace but a sword!! That he came to set father against son, and son against father, &c. &c. Witness from that the divine example and encouragement for wars upon the score of religion, and what a sacred pretext for our Christian governors to imitate their divine master, when it suits their purpose. Doth not the Christian creed violate the rules of arithmetic in making three one and one three? And when divinity is the theme, is not carnal reason to fall down prostrate before it, and not put in one railing accusation against it? Are we not told, that if our faith is strong enough, we can remove mountains? Faith is the sovereign antidote that redounds to a Christian's glory. It appears that Peter tried a bit of it on the water, but not enough to keep him from sinking. And although the promise is so decisive about the removing of mountains, history has not recorded the changing the situation of one of those lumps of earth by the faith of all the Popes, Cardinals, Bishops, and Priests, that have existed since the promulgation of the mountain tale. But that is no wonder, it is not so much the fault of the sluggishness of the mountains, as the defect of faith in the Christians!!

We are told by the divine books of the Jews and Christians, that the angels formerly flew up and down from heaven to earth,



the same as pigeons from a dove-house, and became so very familiar with men, that the names of several of them were known such as Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, &c. But we find our angelic visitors have disappeared to men in modern days, and the faith of multitudes has not been sufficient to credit their visiting the world in days of yore. And another kind of angel of the sable tribe intruded himself upon the earth, to the annoyance of the human race: witness his impudent tricks to Mother Eve and black designs upon Job and Jesus. But his non-appearance in latter days may be owing to his, and his legion, being drowned by the herd of pigs running with them in their bellies, "down the steep into the deep." We are told that from the angelic race he rose to that of genii, and became sovereign prince and power of the air; and even aspired to be the majesty of heaven. This sooty prince is still a great favourite with the priest, although he is such a bugbear to old women and children, and the terror of weak minds in the dark.

The fears of hell, and the ugliness of the devil, have put more guineas into the pockets of the parsons than all their eloquence. See the fruitful effects of faith in this particular. Oh, the blessedness of credulity!

The stretch of faith has been extended beyond hills and mountains to the sun and moon, and stopped them in their course. It is of no consequence about the works of nature performing their courses when the chosen people of God are to have their cruel whims gratified. The orbs are to be stayed, to light the religious assassins, to perpetuate their bloody carnage, and all for the glory of God, as we are informed by the expounder of the holy books. Murder and bloodshed, according to the Book of Numbers, is by the express command of God, and under those circumstances held up as a virtue. Witness this injunction—"Go and smite Amalek," &c.

From tales of cruelty and carnage, let us turn our eyes to those of another description; but though palpably diametrically opposite to nature and philosophy, faith comes in as a necessary auxiliary to their support: witness the description of grafting and sowing. Paul, in describing the vegetative process of grain cast into the earth, says, "Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened except it die." Now, in opposition to Paul's assertion, the contrary is evidently the fact. Grain, that vegetates in the earth, throws out small fibrous roots in the first instance, and immediately the sprout or blade becomes visible. These are nourished in their embryo or infant state (if I may be allowed the expression) by the body of the corn, which is composed of farina, albumen, gluten, and a portion of saccharine, which is imbibed from the atmosphere, under its vegetating process. When these qualities are exhausted by the growth of the young plant, and its absorbent powers having taken the substances up into its

living system, then it has acquired energy and strength sufficient for stronger nourishment; and its mother earth becomes its future support till it arrives at maturity. There is nothing in this process like unto death, but all life and energy; it is the natural progress of the living principle. The corn that dies in the earth, its component parts dissolve and mix with the common elements; it returns its qualities back to nature to be compounded for different purposes. Thus we may plainly see, that Paul knew nothing about the vegetating process when he imprudently called some Corinthian a fool while discoursing upon the subject.

But as a holy implicit faith with Christian humility is esteemed by the religious before vain philosophy; Paul's dogmatical assertion must pass for a canonical truth amongst the mass of unthinking devotees, who tamely surrendered the noblest principle in man for a blind faith, and an implicit credulity. The description of grafting in the sacred book is another of those glaring errors that requires the utmost stretch of faith to credit the tale. Every gardener knows that the good scion must be put into the bad stock to improve the fruit: whereas the Christian's directory instructs them to put the bad into the good.

To recount the numerous tales recorded in those books, and held forth as divine precepts; to read without prejudices the lucid disquisitions of a Paine, a Voltaire, a Holbach, and of numerous other writers of a similar description, the strange things that are requisite for the implicit belief of a religionist before he is installed with privilege, and dubbed with the title Christian, must rouse with astonishment and alarm the mind of every reflecting individual so circumstanced and situated. But the mind, like the body, becomes enfeebled by repeated shocks from things of a narcotic kind, blunting the energy of the senses; and when poison is instilled into us from our infancy, and incorporated with our frames, the paralytic affections are early visible. Thus it is with mind being continually cramped in its efforts and energies; it loses its greatest support reason, and dwindles into enthusiasm. Credulity takes place of demonstration, and an unfeigned reliance upon our teachers instead of exercising our own powers. We give up without a struggle the noblest quality we were endowed with, and the mental energies become disordered for want of action. Thus may be accounted for all the slavery on one hand, and despotism on the other. All the delusion, superstition, fanaticism, faith, passive obedience, and non-resistance: all the stories of ghosts and apparitions, witchcraft, and the black art; all the hocus pocus tricks from Moses with his rod and his serpent, together with the Egyptian soothsayers, down to the modern conjuror. Mystery, miracle, and prophecy, follows in the rear as auxiliaries in the catalogue of delusions, being the proper implements of the designing priests to bring about their purposes.



Oh, man! renounce your slavery and resume your liberty. Put on the dignity of a rational being and claim your noblest prerogative as your birthright. Cast your fetters at the feet of your priests, and tell them that you will not wear those galling chains any longer. Then he will move in his proper sphere, and the earth from being his prison will be his paradise; and science and morality will be his study and guide.

JNO. LEE.

## STEWART'S DISCOURSES.

### DISCOURSE IV.

#### ON POLITICAL ECONOMY.

APPROPRIATED TO THE CONDITION OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

MY discourses being accommodated to the solid discernment of sagacity, rather than the technical refinement of science, I shall decline all speculative enquiry into the origin of society, and confine my exposition to the actual state and practical condition of human policy. The great law of the moral world is sympathy, as gravity is that of the physical. In proportion as the atoms of matter acquire density or gravity they tend to a centre or system, and as this gravity diminishes they diverge from the centre, fly off into the atmosphere, and become vapours and meteors. The phenomena of the moral world pursue the same order in proportion as sympathy expands to the various relations of being, the human mind converges towards a centre or system of social economy, as sympathy diminishes in the moral constitution of man the opposite effect takes place, and the mind diverges into meteor or selfish anarchy and contingency. To exemplify these laws of moral nature we have only to take a view of the social state of man over the whole face of the globe. In savage life sympathy is in its lowest stage of action. The savage feels but little of it even in kindred affection, and thus he is deprived of all system even in the instinctive foresight of subsistence which the brutes themselves possess.

In pastoral life the mind is awakened to mere action of thought which giving birth to sympathy, the laws of property take place, by which means a system of subsistence is acquired, and the germ of social order begins its developement in the parallel ratio of improving sympathy.

The inhabitants of agrestic life, multiplying sympathy in the increased action of thought by new wants and desires, systems of complicate landed property open upon their view, tribes are

congregated into nations, and the organism of political society takes place advanced beyond that of pastoral life in the exact ratio of increased sympathy. Scientific life, or the continent of Europe, advancing the technical powers of the mind by commerce, arts, and sciences, an increased sympathy ensues which gives the limitation of custom to the despotism of monarchy, and a more permanent system of civil society excels that of Asiatic or or agrestic government. Civil life, in the complicate rights and and privileges of constitutional government, generates that character of thoughtfulness which distinguishes so pre-eminently its citizens over the various orders of savage, pastoral, agrestic, and scientific life. Thought, multiplying sympathy, the complicate system of civil liberty is acquired, and the seed of human perfectibility is generated to colonize and advance the powers of social organism in civic life. This progress of sympathy obtained by the technical powers of the mind generated by science, instead of good sense or wisdom generated by sagacity, is still far removed from the knowledge of man, or the laws of the moral science, on which alone can be established a permanent and indestructible system of human felicity in the developement of human energy.

In the present state of consummate science and defective sagacity, the highest and most perfect systems of social policy, are nothing but base and contracted systems of selfishness, void of that energetic sympathy, the offspring of wisdom, and not of science. Human energy, which grows by combination like a commercial capital, is divided into separated families to compete and struggle for the monopoly of property, and, like the drunken crew of a ship, every one pulls the rope to his own station, and not to the trim of the vessel. In this state of family selfishness and drunken reason the coercive power of discipline, or assumptive government, becomes necessary to protect man from his own vice and ignorance, without any power to improve his condition, or advance that perfectibility which alone characterizes man among the animal species. This advancement must wait the discovery of the moral science in the laws of intellectual power, which will give the great desideratum of Archimedes, a fulcrum to move the world from its centre.

The discovery of moral truth is nothing but an exposition of the relations of man and nature in a unity of interest, and when man shall discover his true interest he will want no force and no persuasion to pursue it. The laws of man and nature understood, make true self-interest universal good. The political systems of the civilized world seem all to be accommodated to the moral and physical condition of the human species in their various localities of country.

Asiatic governments are attempting to establish the press to meet the extreme ignorance of their subjects, but the priests



dreading the least glimpse of light, persuade the people to oppose it lest their religion should be destroyed. On the continent of Europe many Sovereigns encourage the advancement of philosophy to enlighten reason, while they suppress only inflammatory works of policy to excite the ignorant to precipitate action and dangerous revolution.

In Great Britain the provinces of philosophy have an unbounded latitude, while those of politics have a wide but limited range marked by seditious views, and not instructive discussion.

In America freedom triumphs in the unbounded liberty of the press, among a nation of proprietors there can exist no danger of sedition or revolution. In this state of accommodative policy the civilized world waits the discovery of moral truth, following this axiom that instruction must precede liberty, whose permanent basis must be light or wisdom. The study of human policy, or the relation of man and nature, has been confounded by the same logic of the schools, which I proved in my introductory discourse to have been the great stumbling block or impediment to the progress of human reason. The French nation were perplexed and misled in their revolution by their logical axioms of the *Rights of Man*—*The people to be free have only to will freedom. Man is every where born free and equal.* These logical axioms, proposing a fixed criterion to the moral science, confounded the doubtful approximations of its longitude, and drove a nail into the mental compass to destroy its oscillations in the variations of practical and theoretic policy. The only criterion of right is that rectitude of action in policy which confers the greatest good to the greatest numbers of the community to be ascertained by the peculiar circumstances of morality, policy, and locality. It is right in America to extend electoral suffrage to every male of adult age, because the vast majority of proprietors makes it unnecessary to qualify natural citizenship. It would be wrong in England to establish unqualified citizenship, because the number of non-proprietors bearing a proportion of a thousand to one proprietor, property would be attacked and driven to the refuge of arbitrary power as exemplified in all the annals of lost freedom. The people of Switzerland, before they changed the democracy of shepherds for the fraternity of French citizens, admitted boys of fifteen to the legislative assembly of the oak tree, because they had no commerce, no riches, no wars, and no patronage of poets and places in the hands of an executive magistrate. Should these rights of minors be claimed in America as the indefeasible and appropriate rights of man, they would soon prove themselves the wrongs of the country, and inconsistent with the only criterion of right policy, the greatest good of the greatest number in existing circumstances. The next axiom of political logic *to be free the people have only to will it.* This logical absurdity could not impose upon the ignorant rabble of a London mob.



It might as well be asserted that for a people *to be happy* it has only to will it.

Neither a nation, nor an individual, can be happy but in proportion to their wisdom, and not science or literature. Where is the nation or individual that does not desire both to be free and happy? What then prevents them? The want of wisdom to discover the nature of man and his relations to the visible universe that he may direct the developement of his energy to unite the powers of his species in mind and body, that from this vast commercial capital of power he may increase the interest of his own stock a thousand-fold in wisdom and happiness. In the present defective state of human energy, the sympathy of man is limited to his family and his country. He would starve a neighbourhood to give a bauble to his child, and he would desolate the world to aggrandize the power of his nation, and this defective state of human intellect must measure the defective state of human policy. I come now to consider the last pleasing axiom applied by demagogues to popular ignorance, that is, that *man is every where born free and equal*. Man is born only with a capacity to accomplish well-being, which includes freedom and equality as the indispensable requisites of happiness, but he is no more born free than he is born wise, proved by the restraining tutelage of parents to controul that self-agency which would lead him into danger and destruction. This axiom of freedom and equality, if not modified by existing circumstances in practice, would be repugnant to the laws and properties of half the United States, and consequently can be no bond of union in the confederacy of America.

These axioms, if used only to awaken the attention of mankind in the sanction of the laws of nature, might be of great advantage to develope moral truth in its theories, but they are insidiously employed to confound and derange the practical state of things, which makes it necessary to detect their fallacy. That he is not born equal, either physically or morally, we have only to consider the muscular strength of a tall man holding in the air a man of lesser stature. The strength of the intellectual organ differs in the same proportion. The sagacity of one man over the imbecility of another, is capable of reducing him to beggary and servitude. Hereditary property is a prevailing inequality that detects with full evidence the logical fallacy in the axiom of natural equality. This unhappy error of nature, multiplied by the error of man, can be diminished only by the institutions of civil society, accommodated to the locality of circumstances, to correct the imperfections of nature.

The policy of America goes farther to diminish this natural inequality by its laws than any other nation. Inferiority of bodily and mental strength is counterpoised by natural citizenship, and the means of instruction in the freedom of the press. Here-

ditary property, unequal by birth, is diffused by the laws of testamentary bequest in equal proportions to all the family, and this is all that civil policy can do to oppose the partial evils of birth or nature in the present circumstances of America. In England, where property is possessed by the great minority of the community, the danger of assault from non-proprietors calls civil power to aid the inequality of birth with laws of entailment, and the inequality of personal power with the restriction of the press, and the privilege of qualified citizenship and nobility.

While property is the base and sordid object of civilized man his systems of government must all receive a base alloy therefrom, unless physical circumstances should give them a casual elevation as in America. If you would make iron float you must place it in the fluid of quicksilver. If you would make wood float you may employ the common element of water, and the true medium of equality is intellectual energy to establish such social institutions as may identify individual and public good as the criterion of true morality to correct the evils of nature. Just so must be the management of human nature. Ignorance demands the medium of restraint, and wisdom alone befits the medium of liberty.

These novel and important truths will suggest to benevolent and enlightened minds the serious question what is to be done to call into action the developement of human energy to advance towards the distinguishing characteristic of man among the animal species perfectibility. To this important question I reply in the language of a French philosopher, Condorcet, that if there existed a single spot upon the surface of the globe, where man possessed the liberty of thought and speech it would form a nucleus of light and truth that must pervade irresistibly in the progress of time the whole population of the earth. The civilized nations of Europe are placed in an awful dilemma of circumstances. Inequality of property and confined territory unequal to its population; this forms an invincible physical impediment to popular government.

Another formidable dilemma is the indeterminable precedence of light and liberty. A nation must be informed in order to be free, and they must be free in order to acquire information.

This double dilemma can be solved and removed only by the discovery of the moral science, whose important truths carry with them in a parallel progress, information, peace, liberty, and happiness, accommodated to the practical, and advancing slowly and safely to the perfectible state of man. The jealousy of civil power, the alarm of property, and the apprehension of anarchy, has covered the continent of Europe with impenetrable darkness in the suspension of the liberty of the press. The foreign gazettes, whose insipid contents are prepared by a royal censor, even these diaries of Court follies, with their glow worm light, are pro-



hibited circulation in the dark empire of Republican France. In the Italian Republics, under the influence of the French power, it is now made death to sell those books which the former Princes thought it an honour to protect. In the present state of the civilized world the virtual confederacy of nations being overthrown by the preponderating power of France, the *jus gentium*, or security of national independence is lost, and national anarchy is as complete as social anarchy would be in the absence of law and government. Nations now contend not as formerly for a colony, a province, or a right of domain—the object is now extirpation or empire.

Mountains, rivers, and seas, the boundaries of nature, to guarantee to every people those propensities of education and custom which form the practical criterion of human happiness are passed over by lawless military power, and the shepherds of the Alps are tortured and consternated with the laws and customs of corrupt cities. If a revolution had taken place among the animal species, and the laws of the forest had been forced upon the fish, a greater evil could not have been inflicted upon sensitive life than the laws of a military to be enforced upon a civic nation. I will put the question to every man of thought and sensibility, and demand what would be the anguish of his grief, or the value of life, if in this country a military prefecture were to suppress his juries, his electoral assemblies, and the freedom of speech and the press. Would it be more manly to echo his sighs and agonies in the dungeon of a tyrant, or sacrifice that life in contest for his liberty, which would be a dreadful and slow torture without it. That government that could subjugate a people so free as the Americans, must be an adamantine despotism, and a stake of civil torture.

Every member of civic life who should meet death in a contest with military power, would resemble the Highland serjeant, who, being a prisoner with the savages, and seeing the stake of torture preparing, told them he had a magic charm which made him invulnerable, upon which one of the savages to prove the nature of his secret charm struck him on the head, and killed him, which event discovered the charm to be a sagacious contrivance to avoid the torture. I hope this anecdote will never be forgotten by the American people to induce them not to cede their lives in despondency, but to strike home their tomahawks if ever the slaves of Europe should dare invade this last asylum of perfectible nature, remembering the example of the serjeant who gained his end, though he lost his life, and that victory must be obtained even in defeat and death. In the present awful crisis of Europe, surrounded by an impenetrable darkness in the suppression of speech and writing, the witticisms of science, or the paradoxes and sophisms of metaphysics, will shine only like putrid bodies in the night, and give no illumination to the horizon. The light,



of nature, which is now generating in this new world of nature, can alone form the dawn of reason and day to penetrate the cimmerian darkness of European policy. The witticisms of Voltaire, and the paradoxes of Rousseau, have lost their power. All party scribblers for rights in society, established upon the wrongs of selfish appropriation, will be hissed at by sagacity, and the vortex of a desolating military power will degrade the civilized world into the barbarism of the Scythian ages, unless its progress shall be arrested by the discovery of moral truth in the study of man and nature attempted in these Lectures.

The light of nature in moral truth resembles the light of the sun. It carries in its rays a force of attraction that no intervening clouds or atmosphere can diminish. The chemical process of matter which evincing the transmutation of all bodies into each other by a perpetual circulation of their atoms, transfers the interest of the mode to the mass, and makes self but a point in the centre of the great circle of interest, both in time and futurity. All matter is constantly passing from the central point of self-agency to the wide circumference of universal patiency, by which the relation of self-interest is multiplied in an incalculably ratio of increase. For example: the identity of a conquering tyrant enjoying the silly pleasures of Court splendour, and pleased with the base adulation of terrified and tortured slaves called subjects: the atoms of this royal monster feeling pleasure in the area of two or three cubic feet of a personal identity, disperse themselves by transmutation in a few days over a vast segment of the globe to be recombined in all the modes of sensitive life, and suffer in a whole circle of patiency the misery they inflicted in the central point of personal agency. The exposition of this constitutional law of nature will read a stronger admonition to those selfish passions (which mistake habitudes of desire for means of felicity) than all the tales of superstition or the insipid homilies of science: the first placing morality on the shadowy basis of unintelligible mythology, and the last conventional obligations to impose patience upon the oppressed classes of the community, while the laws of nature exhibit the true basis of morality to be that order of social economy, identifying individual and public good. If this important truth has been demonstrated in my Lectures, can a censor of the press stop its electrical promulgation in the colloquial intercourse of commercial nations?

If the laws of intellectual power to teach man a skilful use of his understanding, instead of stuffing it like a sack with letters and science, have been discovered, can a censor prevent parents from instructing their children in sagacity? If the right use of language has been discovered, can a censor oblige men to talk nonsense like parrots, and forego the use of their senses? If the true mode of education has been discovered to teach mankind to think rather than to know, that is, to pursue the means of happi-

ness rather than the modes of science, can a censor of the press conceal this art, or can a Royal Academy or Institute divert the public mind with questions of a three horned beetle, or an enormous cockle shell, from discovering the snares and treacherous artifices of despotism?

These momentous truths, which, like the all-pervading influence of the sun, no artifice of police can intercept, must take their rise in the western hemisphere of America, whose political condition so interesting to the happiness of the whole human species, I now proceed to investigate, with the most beneficent zeal and purest impartiality, inseparable from the temper of my new philosophy of good sense, established on the laws of nature. American Citizens.—At this momentous crisis of human history, produced by the active state of intellect in observation and science, having outstripped the powers of contemplation and sagacity, I shall expose to your attention the physical, moral, and political state of your country, rather than any refined plans of projects, reforms, and innovations, which would be preposterous in your advanced state of political perfectibility. It is astonishing how forcibly the truth of nature is rumpled by the plait of opinion. Under this influence there has not appeared a single political writer upon the policy of America that has not trusted its condition and circumstances into the plait of European opinion. I felt this influence upon my mind for a long time, although no individual ever possessed a temperament more disposed to re-judge its judgments—to re-examine its examinations, or to ruminate its opinions acquired by the spirit of universal travel, which having erased the prejudices of local education, has made my mind a pure and unblotted tablet to take the impression of natural truth qualified by those of practical life. Notwithstanding this purity of intellectual temper, my mind was so prepossessed with the writings of political authors, that I observed nothing but the contest of popular and regal government, and the constant experience of all history that had confirmed the necessity and recititude of hereditary power. The death of George Washington and the extraordinary change of public opinion in those principles which his illustrious integrity and confidence had imposed upon them brought my mind into a new examination, and more original view of American policy.

I observed the condition of the American people to differ from all the nations of the world, both ancient and modern, in two most important circumstances; viz. the equality of property and extent of territory to diffuse and perpetuate it. This singular condition of individual independence, power, and felicity, must require a code of policy as different from other nations as the elements of land and water require different laws for their inhabitants. In Europe property is monopolized without any capacity of diffusion or equalization in unoccupied territory, and holds



the balance of power between the sovereign and the subject. When the sovereign threatens, it seeks refuge in popular liberty, as in the feudal wars of Barons and Nobles, when the people threatens it flies to the sovereign as in the disputes of the patricians and plebeians in the Roman Republic.

Democracy being regarded by property, its greatest enemy despotism has every where been established as its ultimate protector, and popular liberty was lost and abandoned as incompatible with the security of property, the sole object of social economy. This inestimable boon of nature, equality of property and territory, to perpetuate it if properly attended to, and incessantly contemplated by American Citizens, must conciliate all parties to the preponderating and invincible power of natural democracy founded not on the speculative rights of man, or refined axioms of opinionative politicians (whose minds can examine consequences only, and not premises), but established on the immutable basis of equal property as a physical force that may from time to time be shaken by internal dissension, but can be broken and dissolved only by the physical force of foreign conquest.

I shall now endeavour to exhibit with as much originality of observation, the cause of political dissension, as I have exposed to your view the unknown and unsuspected basis of American confederacy. In my moral researches in this country, my understanding has been frequently perplexed with the nicknames attached to political opinions. I heard the names of federalist and republican given as the characteristic appellation of the friends and foes to liberty, but how great was my astonishment when in conversation with the most zealous of both characters I found the federalist a staunch republican, and the republican a staunch federalist without any exception. The federalist desired no change in the Constitution to hereditary power, and the republican shewed no disposition to abolish the executive and senate in the establishment of a simple national assembly or pure democracy. The one was said to be of the British, and the other of the French faction, and I never met with a single American of any denomination who did not hold in abhorrence the union of American interests with any foreign power.

I observed, however, a strong difference of character in political opinions, and looking beyond the vulgar medium of imitative opinion caught by sympathy like gaping, I discovered the two distinct characters of agricultural and commercial interests, which separated the inland from the maritime population in the northern and southern states. I found these interests distinguish the political body, like vice and virtue in the personal body of man.

Agriculture in the moderation of its temperament, formed by contentment, simplicity, liberty, and union, demanded a simple system of internal and external policy, exempted from foreign alliance, taxation, and tyranny. Commerce, on the other hand,



pursuing riches in a bold and extensive maritime enterprize, and spending them in the luxury and refinement of European customs, called for the energy of military power in armies and navies, foreign treaties, taxes, and the energy of internal government. In this striking and palpable discrimination of agricultural and commercial interest, I detected the simple cause of American discord, and not in the speculative axioms of the rights of man formed by cabinet politicians, who live among books, and not among men.

In detecting the cause of a disorder the physician is said to have performed half the cure. I shall now consider what remedies are to be used to advance towards a complete cure of the remaining half of the disorder of political discord. The agriculturalist, which name I shall give to the beneficent and patriot citizen, must watch over the commercial interest with the same tender regard the wise man watches his passions to give them every innocent indulgence, but no noxious privilege or power. The agriculturalist, having a great interest in commerce for the sale of his own productions, must support the commercialist to the full extent of that purpose and no farther, because any effort beyond this would be noxious to both. The carrying trade, the smuggling trade, and the fighting or armed trade, are highly injurious to the prosperity of the United States, and dangerous in the extreme even to the sea-ports, whose gaming enterprize and sordid avarice impels their conduct.

The smuggling or carrying trade is a great check on agricultural prosperity, because it confines the operation of wealth to sea-ports, instead of promoting the settlement of the lands as the stamina of the American constitution. The smuggling trade has lavished in spoliation more American property than would have settled all the lands on this side of the Mississippi, and thus increased the population of America beyond all danger of foreign conquest. The carrying trade demands for its protection foreign treaties, which are repugnant and abhorrent to an agricultural people and their interests. The fighting trade, which at the crisis of European warfare may be advantageous to the agricultural interest in exporting a large and usual product to the West Indies, will retribute this profit with a tremendous loss. The injured Powers of Europe, at the epocha of peace, will send a large force against the unprotected sea-ports of America, and ransom them with such a heavy contribution, that half a century of commerce will not recompense. It is usual with the best-informed of American politicians not only to regard the rivalry of European Powers as a bulwark of security against conquest, but also to expect from it a temporary protection from resentment.

The first opinion is correct, that the rivalry of European Powers is an indestructible bulwark against American subjection; but the latter opinion of protection against resentment is false, because

the rival Powers in courting the friendship of America will rejoice at the aggression of a rival that carries in it resentment only and not conquest. The conduct of the present Administration is so well calculated to reconcile the dissentient interests of the country, that it relieves me totally from the invidious task of offering speculative remedies when practical ones are in full execution. The commerce of the Mediterranean, more beneficial to the sea-ports than the farmers, because the carrying trade exceeds the product or export trade, is now defended by the Administration as a conciliatory concession of the agricultural to the commercial interest, by consenting with cheerfulness to a new indirect taxation levied for that purpose.

The Administration of this country pursuing a consistent policy with its fundamental interests, think it prudent to resist the demands of tribute from the piratical states of the Mediterranean, because a very small armament, adequate to the nature and resources of the American confederacy, is competent to effect that purpose, and at the same time to appease the dissensions of the agricultural and commercial parties by identifying their interests, when no serious injury is threatened thereby to the confederacy, and means of hostility are competent to their ends of peace. The preceding federal Administrations, as they were called, though I think more properly commercial should have been their title, following the experience of European history, (though the singular condition of American policy could have no parallel in Europe) fitted out six frigates and prepared six ships of the line to contend with the great maritime Powers of Europe for the privileges of a carrying trade, in which attempt the agricultural interest was totally sacrificed to the commercial, and the equipoise of conciliatory interest was lost with the long popular and confidential Administration that attempted it. This unhappy and incongenial policy with the interests and circumstances of an agricultural nation was not certainly the effect of a personal and selfish ambition, but of the common habitude of human prejudice to follow the bias of example and opinion, without considering the vicissitudes of moral and physical circumstances of different nations. The last and most important measure of conciliation must be attended to in the disposal of public offices. The public functionaries are all agents of a permanent Government, and not the servants of an executive or personal power. Among an agricultural people public economy forming the first principle of conciliatory confidence, will reduce the emoluments of office to so weak an influence, that it can have no power over public opinion, on whose basis every Administration must rest their support. The present Administration came into power in opposition to all the influence of office; and the same public opinion which elevated them must be at all times sufficient for their support, independent of all executive influence.



In the old and corrupt Governments of Europe public offices are attached to the Government, and not to the person of a Minister, who changes only with his change the high officers and counsellors of state, but never removes the vast numbers of subordinate agents, who must obey his orders to conduct the machine of Government whatever may be their private opinions of policy. In the old countries, the offices of state are provisions for life, because the person holding such having given up all professional pursuits for the appointment, the removal from office would be the privation of subsistence; and a routine of discharge attending every change of a Minister would introduce such scenes of private misery as would shake to atoms the power of the most military despotism. Can the confederacy of America sustain the shock of private misery arising from the perpetual discharge of office, when its critical union of democratic States is cemented only by the confidence of public opinion, and not rivetted by military power. If the influence of posts and places were found necessary in an agricultural democracy, founded on the strong basis of equal property, the problem of Republicanism would be solved for ever, and popular Government would be demonstrated a political delusion of designing and ambitious demagogues. I hope the Administrations of the American Government will perceive this dangerous error of calling personal influence to the aid of public opinion, in order to check the useful controversy of enquiry, which preserves the equipoise of energy in civil power and freedom in the citizen, and becomes the indispensable cement of union, wisdom, and confidence in the American Republic. The last great remedy of conciliation is the disinterestedness of legislators; should these suffer private views to predominate over public interests in their councils, the confidence of the people would be lost, and the electors of the district, after the example of Georgia, would take the government into their own hands. This example, which caused a general panic of anarchy among the blind and infatuated mimics of European policy, will serve to shew those Americans who are capable of original thought and observation, unshackled by custom and prejudice, that the agricultural condition of their nation in an equality of property is beyond the reach of either anarchy or despotism.

The Executive Government of Georgia will no doubt be less rapid in its measures, because the negociators with the State will wait the confirmation of the people in a subsequent election; this delay, instead of being ominous of anarchy, should dispose the whole confederacy of America to an imperturbable state of confidence, strength, and repose on the great pyramid of popular Government.

Beware, Americans, of the opinions, conversations, and writings of European emigrants, whose tempers acerbated with the grievances of monopolized property and aristocratic power, neces-



sary for its support in Europe, continue their habitual accents and exclamations of anarchy and despotism in this country, whose condition, domestic, moral, and political, is as different from that of Europe as the element of water from that of land. Their language is inflammatory and acrimonious; the least difference of political opinion is called rascality and scoundrelism; and the least opposition or support of Government are termed designs of anarchy and despotism. In their native countries the contest of parties in a monopoly of property are truly alarming and dreadful. A thousand non-proprietors are hovering, like vultures, over the carcase of one proprietor, and should the eagle of power be absent or chained for a moment, the alternate scenes of plunder, anarchy, and despotism would ensue, as exemplified in the annals of the instructive and disastrous revolution of France, an eternal exemplar of all countries where population is numerous, territory scanty, and property unequally divided. I conjure you, American citizens, when you hear the acrimonious and inflammatory language of turbulent and exiled emigrants from the crowded, ignorant, and superstitious nations of the Old World, reply to them in the words of Hamlet—

“Look on this picture, and then look on this.”

Behold America, in a state of equal property, abundant unoccupied territory, and a steady population; the absolute freedom of the press, unknown in all civilized countries, spreading in the bold enquiry of newspapers and philosophic lectures. Sagacity to discover the means and ends of human existence, rather than science to discover the harmony of uninteresting modes and systems. Prejudice and superstition dispersed by the moral science of man and nature. The simple discord of parties in agricultural and commercial interests so easily reconciled by temporizing concessions. The imperturbable state of domestic society in equal property, which has enabled America to exist in perfect order in the absence of all Government; this singular condition, invincible to all the shocks of internal discord, will uphold society till the improvement of the public mind in the knowledge of man and nature shall open upon human perfectibility, and make all relapse impossible, even by the physical force of subjugation by the united arms of Europe:—such is the portraiture of America. Now look on Europe. Territory scanty, population crowded, property monopolized, avarice contending with poverty in ill-paid and destructive labour, to squeeze the last drop of strength from the debilitated and toil-worn body of the peasant. Observation advanced by vain and pompous science far beyond the powers of contemplation and discernment of thoughtful sagacity. The leading-strings of superstition broken before reason had acquired any strength; luxury multiplying the wants of all classes of life far beyond the powers of acquisition in honest industry. Insidious

demagogues profiting of this wretched state of society, to excite the multitudes into insurrection by speculative axioms of rights and theories of perfectibility. In this awful crisis of internal policy the external safety of nations is threatened by the loss of the balance of power or virtual confederacy of Europe. War is no longer a contention for litigated rights or doubtful limits of domain, but the extirpation of all laws, customs, and propensities of civil life in the subjugation of military power.

Such are the moral portraiture of America and Europe, which cannot fail to expose the folly of imitative regard or instructive exemplar, sought after in the policy of the eastern and western continents by irreflective politicians. Republicanism is as impossible in Europe as monarchy in America, whose very singular condition of local circumstances will open a new code of policy, the criterion of which must be placed in its own experience, irrelative to any part or event in human history.

Having established my ground and means of conciliation in the simple and unobserved nature of American policy, I shall now take the liberty to propose to your sagacity some plans of internal and external preservation of your sublime confederacy. In the progress of population your sea-ports will prepare a dangerous point of contact to European hostility. In half a century more, they will probably contain half a million of inhabitants in each; the maritime nations of Europe, by keeping them in frequent blockade and contribution, will compel them into a state of alliance or subjection—when surrounding them with impregnable fortifications, they will make them the opening-ground or advancing works of a more general subjugation. The only means which the United States possess to counteract this danger is, to draw off the population of the sea-ports by aids of agricultural settlement; in a few years the public debt will be discharged, and the revenue must then be applied to the agricultural and commercial interests in proportion to the population. As the farmers exceed the merchants in the proportion of twenty to one, 19-20th parts of the revenue may be advanced in loans to settlers, the making of roads, cutting canals, &c., while the remaining 20th may be expended in the protection of commerce in small navies, tributes, and harbour fortifications.

The land should be sold in small lots to settlers only at a long credit, and a considerable premium given to every man, woman, and child belonging to the enterprize. Such would be the only possible means to diminish the dangerous increase of sea-port population, and to seduce their inhabitants from the inveterate habits of a city life. To pursue this policy of agricultural augmentation and commercial diminution of population, the diffusion of knowledge, or rather sagacity, as an indispensable substitute, must be particularly attended to. Farmers have no leisure and less use for academical and university instruction, therefore a new



system must be established to meet the condition of agricultural life, as explained in my Discourse on Education. An agricultural population, separated into families and small societies by distant settlements, would become ignorant, superstitious, selfish, and savage, if not seduced into instruction by its pleasures, its facility, and most evident utility. In towns the inhabitants improve their political sagacity by intercourse, and discover the advantages of union, and society, and government; while farmers, in the undisturbed possession of equal property, see no want of protection from a public force, and no advantage from a revenue distrained from their industry. From this comparative view of the agricultural and commercial character, it will be indispensibly necessary for the general Government to appoint committees of public instruction, to establish schools, to publish and diffuse works of instruction on all subjects; and, above all, to encourage and support Lecturers, who after public service at the meeting-house, may deliver to the congregation before it disperses such knowledge of astronomy, natural philosophy, chymistry, and the science of man, as may be useful in all the conduct of life, and teach an agricultural population in one hour more than all the study of books and universities could teach them in a long life. I conjure the commercial population of the sea-ports to view their insignificant numbers and force compared with the actual and progressive population of the country. They are a river to an ocean, and all their opponent efforts against the tides of the sea will but make a bar to destroy their own navigation or interest; they have but two alternatives of no difficult choice, which are either to restrict commercial enterprize to the temperate views of an agricultural nation, in order to enjoy peace, liberty, truth, and happiness, or to seek the protection of foreign power, to possess luxury and wealth, retributed by taxation, wars, slavery, and misery. The most imperious and unobserved instinct in the human temperament is imitation; the people of America are so habituated to European customs, laws, and policy, that although they have established the most inestimable law of human policy, the absolute liberty of the press, yet every bold effort of enquiry and light is exclaimed against as disorganization, confusion, and anarchy. In Europe aristocracy having got possession of land, property, and every means of subsistence, it has bound the poorer classes of the community upon the rock of ignorance, toil, and poverty, and like the Spaniards in the conquest of Mexico, sing a lullaby to their victims of torture, of patience, morality, and religion. In America, where every individual lives in the enjoyment of peace, liberty, and property, if you whisper a doubt about religion being the artifice of European aristocracy, and an impossible criterion of morality, which demands the intelligible basis of policy, identifying individual and public good, timid federalists and sectarian zealots take the alarm, and apprehend that the wealthy farmers of

America will be instigated by scepticism to annoy one another like an affamished European mob. To remove this imitative and instinctive apprehension of the efforts of philosophy, I shall expose my sentiments on public instruction and political reform, which I doubt not will have more effect to preserve the social order of the American States than all the stupid fears and obstinacy of sectarian habitudes, or the imitative prejudice of federalism, substituting European subordination to Republican confidence, the true and only cement of American policy.

#### ON PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

Sympathy is the great first element of the moral world, as gravity is that of the physical. Sympathy is excited to action by thought, as gravity by heat; the excitement of thought to action is promoted by speculative enquiry into the study of man and nature, or the highest relations of human happiness and human interest; and if mankind were universally and seriously occupied in the study of the laws of intellectual power, such a degree of thought and sympathy would be generated as to dispense with the necessity of altars and thrones over all the world. The controversies of sectarian creeds and factious policy, supported by penal laws, to suppress thought and enquiry, are the causes of eternal discord and the present defective state of human reason and human perfectibility. The nature of moral truth being the most just and general relations of things, enquiry must reach the centre of element and the circumference of system, or moralists, like mathematicians, could ascertain no mensurations in their circle. Important speculative enquiries, conducted within the intelligible boundaries of reason and experience, guard the mind against precipitate action, and dispose it to the love of system and abhorrence of contingency, verified and illustrated by the conduct of the British nation, whose theories have reached the most extensive boundaries of speculative truth, while their practice conforms itself to the imperfect predicament of civilized life. Speculation generates thought in the exact proportion of the importance of its subjects; and it is the tensity of thought which forms the power of conscience to detect the most secret influence of the will over the understanding, by inverting the mind upon itself, the true character of intellectual energy or manhood.

The man of thought may sometimes be in error, but he never can be either a knave or fool,

#### THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PEOPLE.

This supremacy of social power is constituted in short periods of electoral delegation, and an ultimate but very dangerous resort to tests of opinion imposed occasionally on delegates.



In all commercial and opulent nations, the Government will always feel a separate interest from the people, in the disposal of public property and power; and whenever any malconduct of very serious and consequential importance appears, the people of this country are justified by their very peculiar condition (which distinguishes America from all other nations) in resorting to this *ultima ratio populi*—special and occasional tests, in order to repeal dangerous laws, and to preserve the spirit of constitutional and Republican liberty. To guard against the licentious exercise of popular sovereignty tending to the establishment of pure and impracticable democracy in opulent and populous nations, the attention of the people must be excited to the following important axioms of policy:—That all increase of popular liberty beyond the equilibrium of delegated system, diminishes private security. That in proportion as law is made to depend on the caprice of public or private will, it loses its character of impartial protection. I shall illustrate these axioms by supposing that the malconduct of the delegated authorities had induced the people to shorten the period of elections, and to give imperative instructions in their election districts to their representatives upon all important subjects of policy. The representative assembly would then become mere agents of impeachment, and instruments of factions, to execute party vengeance, which would so contaminate State councils and courts of law with personal influence, that constitutional right or State policy would have no criterion but the temporary predominance of party spirit, and law would have no criterion but in the caprice of human will. The uninformed multitude, misguided by the inflammatory eloquence and treacherous ambition of the demagogue, observes only particular effects, and not the general consequences of things; they cannot discover that the rigorous formalities of law, and restraints of constitutional codes, though they sometimes facilitate the action and escape of criminality, form at the same time the indispensable barriers of public and private security. The outcry of demagogues upon the acquittal of Judge Chase, (whose virtual guilt was as evident as his legal guilt was doubtful) accompanied with efforts to change the constitution, was as reprehensible and impolitic as would be the public outcry upon the escape and acquittal of a notorious robber in a court of justice, accompanied with petitions from the people to Congress to dispense with legal forms, and to enlarge the discretion of the court, thereby surrendering all public security into the hands of capricious magistrates to obtain the condemnation of one obnoxious individual, and thus, in the style of popular error, to obtain a particular benefit with the sacrifice of a thousand general consequences. If I was now in the expectation of a sudden death, I should esteem it the highest act of energy to promote the future interests of my dissolving and dispersed atoms

into the general mass of sensitive life, to leave the following testamentary advice to the citizens of America :—Never to call forth the dangerous exercise of the sovereignty of the people in imperative instructions and tests to delegates, till the corruption of Government can no longer be impeded by electoral controul. The exercise of popular sovereignty is as dangerous to the life of the body politic as extreme chirurgical operations to the life of the patient, which are never applied to till all hopes in medicine are lost. The *vis vitæ* of social system in America is constituted by the two qualities of moderation and confidence; these may be supported by an occasional and indispensable resort to electionary tests, but an habitual and established use thereof would annihilate those inseparable and indispensable qualities, and make all general system or union impossible. The constitution of civil society in America standing upon the indestructible basis of equal property, moderation will mark the true character of patriotism, and political fanaticism will designate only the fools or knaves of faction, while the important and new experiment shall have a fair trial, how a sovereign people may remedy the great evil of all representative Governments, the breach of trust in delegated authority sacrificing public property to private profit. Montaigne, in his reflections on the rise and fall of the ancient Republics, observes, “ So true it is, that a landed interest diffused through a whole people is not only the real strength, but the surest bulwark of the liberty and independence of a free country.” The equal state of property offers a remedy to the common cause of dissolution in all constitutional Governments—the temptation of public wealth and power to sacrifice the interest of the constituent to the profit of the representative, and proffers in a great majority of proprietary citizens an identity of public and private interest, the most indestructible pledge of social order throughout all the changes of federal energy or lax democracy. These reflections on the equality of property I recommend to the constant and serious attention of the American people, to generate a spirit of confidence in their peculiar condition, and a moderation in their controversial policy, that may diminish the evils of inevitable changes, reforms, and revolutions, in which the examples of history can give them no instruction; the condition of the European continent, both ancient and modern, would offer as bad a model of legislation to this country as the regimen of convalescency to the conduct of robust health, and leaves American experience to be the only criterion of American policy. I must not however conceal from you, that the sordid pursuit of wealth, co-operating with a want of leisure for improving the mind, will generate such a defect of honour in magistrates and political ignorance in the people, that you must expect perpetual changes and perpetual discord; but as you have no neighbouring enemies to invade



your territory, or domestic rabble to plunder your property, you may laugh at the alarming language and fears of emigrants till information and experience shall prove to an envious world that democracy is no chimera in a nation of proprietors. The friend of human happiness rejoices at least at the propitious capacity of America to try the important experiment, whether constitutional Government or civil liberty may not safely comprehend the good, and be placed on the wide basis of the majority of numbers, which has not been the case in England, where one-fourth of the population enjoy a very high comparative degree of liberty, dignity, and security, at the expence of three-fourths of their fellow-subjects, whose toil-worn condition in the pressure of aristocratic luxury, ambition, and avarice, makes the state of a Russian serf or Turkish slave most enviable.

This is not declamation, but the language of event, and the argument of experience, read in my extensive and beneficent travels to discover moral and physical truth, in the most just and most general relations of things. Such are my simple projects or means proposed to effect internal and domestic conciliation and safety. I shall now exhibit the same simple plans of external or foreign safety. While the civilized world is every where arming even their boys in the tremendous contest of national existence, can America, enjoying the most important stake of social man, equality of property and political power, elevating a free citizen far above an emperor, who is but the most distinguished slave among slaves; can America view from afar this alarming struggle of social man, and behold with indifference the conflagration of the city, because his house is in a distant street? There is not a moment to be lost in the discipline of your militia; not a parade tactic, performed with broomsticks, which I have lately seen in some of the States, but an army accomplished in all the evolutions of the field. Every State, in the leisure time of commerce and agriculture, should call forth 10,000 militia, in junction with the neighbouring State, to constitute an army of 20,000 men, who should exercise itself in every movement of assault and defence, to keep the field for a fortnight, and to be paid by the general Government during their annual encampment. I recommend, above all things, to a free and agricultural people, to depend much on the use of the bayonet, and not on military manœuvres, which expose a civil population to confusion, consternation, and defeat, as appears in all the journals of the late revolutionary wars in Europe. If I have discovered and developed in these Lectures the laws of the moral world, they shew that civic institutions beget thought, and thought begets sympathy, the *vis* or energy of the moral world, as gravity is that of the physical world. Sympathy becomes the true tactic of a civic people, as technical discipline that of a military people. Sympathy makes the thoughtful man feel his relations to a troop or regiment, and identify his

person with the whole body, by which he not only multiplies his force with numbers, but binds it, like a sheaf, against the separated stalks of a military and unsympathetic people. An uncivic or military people having no thought, can have no sympathy, and all their force is in the strength of discipline and the simple energy of self, which feels no relations of troop, and no force but that of person, and if their assault fails, to consternate the least resistance will defeat them. This important law of the moral world I have seen repeatedly verified in the course of regular and irregular warfare between savage and civilized nations, and I rejoice in the experience, because it guarantees the progress of human perfectibility in securing the preponderance of moral over physical force. With inexpressible feelings of human interest, I offer this invaluable and salvatory counsel to the American people, that should they ever be invaded by united Europe, (for without this union no invasion can ever be attempted) let them try the experiment of assault with bayonets in a single body of 10,000 men, who are to be taught that they are always in column, whatever may be the disorder of their ranks and files; and upon the indubitable success of this experiment stands the security of civic life, and the only pledge of human perfectibility. In this political Discourse you will observe with the most animated attention, that I have not vainly attempted to conciliate hostile factions or opinions by the common-place cant of moral advice or speculative projects of reform in Government, but by a simple exposition of the moral and physical predicament of the country. I have exhibited a unity of agricultural interest, and a necessity of democratic Government, that will overcome all opposition of force, controversy, or satire, and hold out this instructive lesson of experience and irrefragable bond of conciliation—that the peace, liberty, and prosperity of America can have no security and no pledge of advancement but in the diffusion of useful knowledge, and the improvement of the understanding, throughout the whole mass of the people.

#### VALEDICTION.

Having finished my Lectures, I now take my leave, with the most grateful expressions of thanks for your liberal attention, and with the most impressive adage to preserve the recollection of them in your memory:—

Truth, virtue, wisdom, in one line to scan;  
The light of reason is the life of man.